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NOTICE.

The publication of the *Stamped Register* will begin on the 7th of April, instead of the 31st of March; so that the next Register will close the present volume, and will contain a *Table of Contents* and an *Index*.—Cobbett's *Religious Tract*, No. 2, will, of course, be published on the 1st of April.

NAPLES.

The march of the deadly Austrians against Naples.—The situation of the parties in the war.—The injustice of the deadly Austrians.—Glorious news from Piedmont.—Probable consequences to France.—England represented by Canning as on a plank in a storm.—How to rescue her from this perilous state.

The Revolution in Naples is now become a subject of great and general interest; especially since the Austrian, the Russian and the Prussian, secretly *abetted by others*, whom it is hardly necessary to name or to designate, have resolved to overthrow that revolution, and to compel the people to return to a state of slavery. The Austrians, the deadly

Austrians, the implacable foes of the very name of freedom; the Austrians; the terrible, the horrible Austrians; the never-forgiving Austrians, have put their whiskered battalions in motion, and, by hundreds of thousands, like moving wall after wall, are they marching in order to extinguish the dawn of liberty in the South of Italy. Oh! God! that they had but to march against fifty thousand *Yankees*, armed with their rusty rifles! However, if the recent news be true, the Austrian battalions will meet with their deserts; that is to say, their blood and flesh and bones will remain to fatten the land and to fertilize the vineyards which they are sent to ravage.

The history of this abominable act of aggression is pretty well given in the manifesto of the Government of Naples, which I shall subjoin to this article. A few observations, however, may be necessary here. In July last the people of Naples; but I should here observe, first of all, that this kingdom consists of two parts; that is to say, of *Sicily*,

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which is an Island in the Mediterranean Sea, and of Naples, which forms the Southern point of Italy, which is part of the Continent of Europe. It is called by the people themselves, *the Kingdom of the two Sicilies*; but in general, we call the whole of it taken together *Naples*, which is the name of the Capital City in that part of the Kingdom which is on the Continent. The people, then, of this Kingdom, which contains, altogether, a population not much inferior in numbers to that of Spain, did, in the month of July last, the *Soldiers bravely and most laudably taking the lead*, demand a Constitution similar to that of Spain. The King, as was his duty, yielded to the demands of the people. The Constitution was framed and the King swore to abide by it.

Now, what right had any other nation to interfere? Yet, Austria, Russia and Prussia must immediately hold a *Congress*, as they call it, and there discuss what should or what should not be done with regard to the Revolution in Naples. The King of Naples had lost no time in transmitting to all Foreign Courts an account of what had taken place in his Kingdom; and

in appointing new Ambassadors, or in renewing the powers of the old ones, in a manner conformable with the new order of things. Scarcely any of these Courts, however, would *receive* these new Ambassadors. Our Court, of whose conduct in this respect I may say perhaps more by and bye, did neither *receive* nor *reject*; and, the conduct of the Old Bourbons appears to have been the same. The Gallant Spaniards (who were but the other day the most paltry wretches in Europe) received the new Ambassador with open arms; but the whiskered fellows in the North; and particularly the Austrians, Russians and Prussians repelled the new Ambassadors as men drive back creatures infected with the plague.

In each of these acts of rejection there was just ground of war given to Naples, as there was to France by the sending away of the French Ambassador by England in 1793. However, Naples was not in a state to declare War. She, doubtless, did, as well she might, despise these rejections, on the part of Austria, Prussia and Russia, and these hesitations on the part of England and the Old Bourbons. The hostility, however, was not

to stop here, for the three powers above mentioned met in Congress and had the audacity to proclaim to the world that they would compel the Neapolitans to submit to their will, and their will was that every thing should be undone, which had been done since the month of July last.

It is hardly possible to find terms to express a suitable degree of indignation at this audacious manifesto. Let us, in order to come at something like an adequate degree of hostile feeling upon the subject, make the case our own. We live in ticklish times; we have a *banishment* law hanging over our heads; we have some pretty gentlemen with their eye constantly upon us; and we know that those pretty gentlemen have some very pretty instruments in their hands. It may be best, therefore, not to suppose a case to arise, lest we should be charged with wishing for that which we suppose. It may be best to deal in realities instead of suppositions, and to look backward instead of forward. It is well known, then, that there was a revolution in England in 1688; that the then King was driven out of the Country; that his own Soldiers were employed against him; that Foreign Sol-

diers were brought over to assist in the Revolution; that a Dutchman, who had not a drop of British blood in his veins, was brought over and made King; that the succession to the throne was wholly changed; and that this event is called, even until this day, a "**GLORIOUS REVOLUTION.**"

The Bourbon of that day received the run-away King; cherished him; treated him as King of England; did not acknowledge the new Sovereign; and, in short, did his best to excite rebellions against the new Sovereign. This Bourbon was represented by the English of that day as an insolent, haughty, abominable tyrant; and, in a short time war was declared against him, and before the end of that war he was humbled in the dust.

Now, in Naples they have not set aside their King. In Naples they have not brought in a foreigner and made him King. They have simply made a change in their own government; a change in the manner of conducting their own national affairs. In the case of England the haughty insolent Old Bourbon had to alledge that the Old King of England was a Catholic; and that the Revolution was injurious to the Catholic re-

ligion, while he, the haughty Old Bourbon, styled himself the *most Christian King*. This most Christian gentleman fomented a rebellion or two, which ended in the hanging of the principal part of his partizans. But the Old King of England was a *relation* of the Bourbon; so that there was some little excuse for his interference; but, in the present case there is no change of dynasty; and there is no alteration in religion even talked of.

It is very certain, that, when one country does a thing which manifestly tends to the injury of another country, that other country has a right, as far as is necessary to its own safety, to take measures of precaution. If the Neapolitans had chosen, for instance, to inoculate themselves with the Plague, the Austrian would have a perfect right to cut off all communication between Naples and his own territories. If the Neapolitans had formed a Constitution, which necessarily put them in a state of War against Governments in general, resembling that of Austria; then there might have been reason for the Austrian making an effort to destroy that Constitution. But, to plead the *danger of example* as the ground of an attempt to destroy the

Constitution of Naples, is not only outrageous and abominable; but it contains in itself its own condemnation. Upon this plea all the Old Governments of Europe might unite together for the destruction of the Government of America; and, I remember well that Sir JOSEPH SIDNEY YORK, an Admiral, and then a Lord of the Admiralty, did, in 1814, say that Mr. PRESIDENT MADDISON must be put down as well as Buonaparte. I remember, too, that it was then contended in several of our newspapers; that, "while
"that *example* of successful democratic rebellion was suffered
"to exist, there was *no safety*
"for the regular governments of
"Europe; and that, therefore,
"the time and circumstances being propitious, we *ought to persevere till we had put down*
"that *example*!" We did persevere to the tune of about seventy millions of money; but all that we affected was to give splendour and perpetuity to that enchanting example.

The declaration of the Austrian and his comrades was communicated to our government; and, in a recent number of the Register, will be seen the note of Lord CASTLEREAGH in consequence of that communication. That note,

in bad language, and in confused statement, says, in fact, nothing. It neither approves nor disapproves. It expresses no opinion upon the merits of the case; and as to the *wishes* of the writer and his colleagues, we are left to gather them from the well known character and the well known general conduct of the parties.

The Austrian has now marched to put his threats in execution; and, as we shall have to read the accounts of marches and of battles; it may not be amiss that, to some of my readers, I endeavour to give a loose idea of the situation of the countries which are the Theatre of the war. We are told that the Austrian is marching his bearded battalions through the Roman territory; that is to say, the territory of the Pope. We are further told, that the Neapolitans are also marching into or towards that territory. But, (and which is of much more consequence than all the rest), we are told that the **PIEDMONTESE** have risen in Revolution also, and that they are marching to the assistance of Naples.

Now, observe, **SICILY** is, as I said before, an Island in the Mediterranean forming part of the Kingdom of Naples. **ITALY** has been described as a *boot*, giving **SICILY** a kick in that part which

it would not be delicate to name.

Lay your right leg upon your left knee; and, then, observe, that the *shin* of the boot is bounded by the Mediterranean, and the sole and back of the leg by the Gulf of Venice. All the part, from the toe to the calf, belongs to Naples, and the city of Naples is on the sea side at about the middle of the small. Then the Pope takes a slice on the shin side going up above the knee and reaching about three parts of the way across the calf, and the City of Rome is in this slice of the Pope. Piedmont, which belongs to the King of Sardinia, begins at the northern extremity of the Pope's slice and runs northward from the Mediterranean having part of France and Switzerland on one side, and the Austrian territory on the other, which comes down the thigh and along the back of the calf of the leg bounding the Pope to the point where Naples ends. As the boot lies in such a manner as to make the top point towards the North West, all that part which is above the Pope's territory, is called *the North of Italy*; and, as is well known, the whole of this part, including the Pope's territory, formed at one time, a part of the Empire of Napoleon; and which empire he might, per-

haps, still have had, if he had not taken to his arms a daughter of the Austrian; for which he deserved, not only his fall, but his present humiliation.

Thus, then, Reader, as you read the accounts of this War, by laying the small of your right leg upon your left knee, if you be not too fat, you will need no map to give you a rough sketch of the seat of war. The PIED-MONTESE, who, remember, are above the knee, are said to be marching as fast as they can towards the shin; and it is also said that the subjects of the Austrian, who live, you will observe, all along the north side of the Piedmontese and along a great part of the same side of the Pope's dominions (which we will call from the middle of the thigh bone to the middle of the calf), are joining them. These countries are full of men, who were Officers and Soldiers in the armies of Napoleon. If these men roll on in large bodies from the thigh down the leg, the machines of the Austrian, while they are met by the Neapolitans somewhere above the ankle, will find themselves just as they ought to find themselves, that is to say, with one bayonet at their breast and another at their back; and, that not a man

of them may escape, not even a single man to tell the tale, must be the sincere prayer of every good man in this world. The man that does not wish for their total destruction must have a heart composed of stuff that can feel tenderness towards the Devil himself, and towards nothing but what is wicked and cruel. Only think of the wickedness of the marching of these brutal bands to lay waste; to destroy; to desolate a country and to starve or kill a people against whom there is not even an alledged charge; except that of setting an example which may by possibility fill the minds of the subjects of Austria, Russia and Prussia with notions inimical to the absolute sway of the Austrian, the Russian and the Prussian! An act like this admits of no adequate description; all terms of reprobation fall short of it's heinousness. Ignorance is no apology for the instruments in the commission of such a crime; human nature itself naturally revolts at it; and if the Soldiers of the Austrian be insensible to the dictates of human nature, they are, in fact, brutes, and as brutes they ought to be considered and treated. To entitle Soldiers to the benefit of the *laws* of war, the war must be a *lawful*

war. It must arise out of some principle recognised amongst nations; and every principle recognised amongst nations, as applicable to the affairs of war, condemn this act of tyrannical aggression. Therefore, *spare none*, ought to be the motto of the Neapolitans: let not a man escape; and let this be an example to future Holy Alliances.

But, if the news from PIEDMONT be true; if the Army there have actually moved on to the assistance of Naples, *the scene becomes interesting indeed*. For, observe, that PIEDMONT, which is thus near the scene of action, is joined at no great distance by France. So that we are drawing towards home. The South and East of FRANCE contains combustible matter; and LOUIS “*the desired*” will soon find himself not much the safer for his censorship of the Press! Thus, then, though we have spent a thousand millions in the enterprise; though we have created a “*great Captain*” at an expense that Captain before never occasioned; though we have got so many hundreds of Knights of the Bath; though Waterloo medals do glisten about the street; though Old Blucher did strip the museums of Paris; though we

have two Acts of Parliament for keeping Napoleon at St. Helena; though we have paid millions of money to French emigrants, of which we have now to pay the interest; though we did rejoice to the tune of two hundred thousand pounds; though we did defeat the Yankees on the Serpentine River: though we did grant two or three millions for the building of triumphal arches and columns, which are *yet to be built*; though we have been *delivered*, thus far, from Parliamentary Reform, we have not yet effected “*the deliverance of Europe!*”

Here we come home! and without coming home nothing can be of very deep interest to us. We feel for the Neapolitans certainly; but we cannot feel as we ought, unless we have one eye upon England and another upon Naples. With a revolution successful in Spain and Portugal; with a revolution successful in Naples, and especially with a revolution successful in the King of Sardinia's dominions, there must be *another revolution in France*. If the Bourbons have any sense, they will make it themselves, and not suffer it to be made by others. But, at any rate, take place it must, if a revolution be successful in PIEDMONT. If another

complete revolution should break out in France, farewell to Kingly Government in that country ; or, at least, farewell to the Bourbons, as far as they are connected with France. Nothing is more probable than such a Revolution. All the elements necessary to produce it are in existence. The Rulers appear to be blind ; the train appears to be laid ; and all that appears to be wanted is merely the putting of the match.

If such a revolution take place, *then* we shall see what stuff we are made of, on this side of the Channel. Then we shall see whether new BURKES will arise, and *new alarmists* cherish and foster them. Then we shall see whether acts will again be passed making it death to send a sack of potatoes to France. Then we shall see whether new societies will arise to put down republicans and levellers ! The times will be most interesting, when the voice of freedom shall again be heard on the other side of the Channel. In those times we shall think of PITT and DUNDAS, of ROSE and LONG, and of many others who are still alive, and who have so long been laughing and scoffing at us.

When those times shall arrive, what shall we do with the *Debt* that is already contracted ? The

French funds, we see, fall *seven per cent*, though the newspapers there dare not say a word about the news from PIEDMONT. Our funds have fallen *two or three per cent*. The proportion corresponds with what is regarded as the difference in the amount of the danger to the owners of what is called property, but, which, if it be property, is property of a very sensitive character. What is to happen, then, if a revolution take place in France ? I am not arithmetician enough, as far as I know, to state the question. But, as the French funds, which were at *seventy-seven*, fell down to *seventy* upon the arrival of the news from Piedmont ; and as ours, which were at *seventy-three*, fell down to *seventy and a half* : and as a revolution in France would bring the French funds down to *nought*, how low, think you, would such a revolution bring ours ? If that which reduces *seventy-seven* to *seventy*, reduces *seventy-three* to *seventy and a half*, what will the *seventy and a half* be reduced to by that which will reduce the *seventy* to *nought* ? This is a grand and most interesting question. It is worthy of engaging the attention of all the actuaries and all the calculators of chances, who have been generated

by this most gambling system. For myself I shall not attempt to puzzle my brains with the matter, but this much I am sure of, that, if another revolution were to take place in France, it would save us from all further mortification at hearing the sometimes silly and sometimes hypocritical professions about "National Faith;" for I am the most deceived of mankind, if, at the end of one week from the commencement of such a revolution, a *hundred pounds of stock might not be bought for a bushel of wheat!*

What a deal of trouble such an event would save Mr GOOCH? He would soon see Agricultural distress disappear. The smock frock farmers would grow out of paupers; and the Scotch Bailiffs, would *not go back* but would become labourers, other than which they ought never to have been. The Lords and gentlemen would keep their estates, too, and the Parsons their livings; and we should hear of no more projects, from Mr. RICARDO, or from any body else, for dividing the land and sharing it with the "*Public Creditor*," as he is called, who is now actually taking the land, bit by bit, with the apparent approbation of the owners.

I cannot help here reminding my readers of what I said in 1814, in an article entitled "*THE RECKONING*." I said that we had had the *feast*; that we had had the *rejoicings*; that we had got the *glory*; that we had been dancing and singing and getting drunk; and that now we had to pay *the reckoning*; that we had delivered Europe as we were told, but that we now had to deliver ourselves. I then went on to state, that this reckoning was the sour sauce after the sweet meat. And that after *some years of distress and misery*, we should see *Europe again convulsed with revolutions*; and that those revolutions would *succeed*, because (for which I should fervently thank God) *our Government would not be able to interfere*. Was not this something like prophecy? Does it not appear likely to come true? Did I not see a little more clearly than those four hundred Members of the House of Commons, who received Lord CASTLEREAGH with a *clapping of hands*, when he returned after having made a new division, and a *final settlement* of Europe upon the principles of the "*Social System*?" Both parties received him with cheers. Not a man was there in the country with pen

in hand, except myself, to express even a doubt of the gloriousness of the achievement. All was madness; but time and calamity have brought us to our senses.

The Austrian and his Comrades may possibly succeed in smothering the Revolution in Naples; but they can never extinguish it. It will burst forth again; and if again smothered, it will again burst forth. My opinion is that a very few years must see it reach France; and if it reach France only once more, all Europe is free. The most interesting thing is, what will be the ultimate consequences as to *England*. My wishes extend now no farther than they extended many years ago. I wish for nothing more than such a Reform of the Parliament as will give a vote to every man liable to be called upon and compelled (as, if necessary, he ought to be) to serve his country in arms. I wish for nothing more than this. But, my wishes are nothing. Nor are the wishes of any body else any thing. They alter, and they ought to alter, with circumstances; because, in every possible state of things, every man ought to wish for that which is best calculated to promote the

happiness of the people and the greatness of the country.

Were I a Lord, and especially if I were one of those Lords, who have in their hands certain powers, which are of a nature too delicate to be named in an unceremonious manner; were I such a Lord, I should have an eye, and a very anxious eye, too, upon what is going on in Italy. I should see the possibility and even the probability of the warm blood creeping upwards from the foot to the knee, and then into the thigh. Knowing what sort of *love* that is, which the French entertain towards the Bourbons, I should calculate upon the probability of another republic being established in France: or, at least of the establishment of a something which would give us a most furious shock on this side of the water. I should ask myself whether it was wise still to persist in a refusal of a Reform of Parliament; whether it would be better to yield now, or persist in refusing till such change took place in France. I should ask myself whether the *Six Acts* would be very desirable to be left in existence in case of another decampment of "*Louis le desire*." I should ask myself how I should feel upon seeing a French Ambas-

sador come with a red cap upon his head to deliver his credentials to a Minister, supported by an unreformed Parliament. And, I think, that the conclusion I should arrive at would be this: that, in order to be prepared for such an event, there ought to be a House of Commons, the representatives of *persons* as well as of *property*; possessing the confidence of the people at large, low as well as high; having the power to still the waves, or, at any rate, to conduct the vessel safely through the storm. In short, supposing me to have none but selfish objects in view, I should surely be desirous to preserve my estate and my title: I should naturally conclude, that the most effectual way to do that would be to prevent the people at large from desiring any change that would affect that title and that estate; and, in order to prevent them from having such desire, I would endeavour to make their lot so good, to gratify their wishes so largely, that there should seem nothing that it would be worth their while to endeavour to imitate in the conduct of any revolutionists in any nation. }

This is the way in which I should endeavour to profit from what is taking place in Italy. Whether those who are most

deeply concerned will draw profit from those events; whether they will take warning in time, and make preparations accordingly, is more than I can say. But of this I am very certain, that the cause of Naples, the cause of Piedmont, the cause of every people that rise against despotism, is the cause of England; and that for every Austrian laid dead upon the ground, every Englishman ought to return thanks to the man who has slain him.

I had written thus far, when (*Tuesday*) the *COURIER* newspaper was brought to me, containing an account of the uproar in the City, occasioned by the arrival of the news of the *King of Sardinia's Abdication*, and of other events of great importance. This appears to have brought the *Funds* (we shall soon, I hope, laugh at the very sound of the word) down, from 70½ to 69. This standard of "*National Faith*" is very fluctuating! The French Government had, it seems, been compelled to suffer the accounts from Italy to be published. A panic seems to have seized the "beloved Bourbons." In short, it is possible, that, before this Register shall come from the press, something *decisive* may

have taken place against the deadly Austrians.

Now, I think it certain, that FRANCE will be revolutionized, if Naples triumph. For, the triumph of Naples must be followed by the driving of the deadly supporters of CASTLEREAGH'S "Social System" from the whole of the North of Italy. Free government will be established there; and, with free government there, the Bourbons cannot remain in France.

Oh! what would I now give to be a mouse in our Lord Chancellor's Wig! I would give a good deal to see the faces of our pretty gentlemen, when they meet! To hear them sigh and see them scratching their heads. I think I see one of them now! Ah! my Lord Viscount, Parson HAY and BOLTON FLETCHER cannot assist you here. Even the *Six Acts* cannot prevent the Reformers from enjoying in their dungeons the feelings of their hearts. Mr. JOHNSTONE, though he could not go to receive the last sigh of his broken-hearted wife, is still alive to hear the tidings from Italy! And so am I after my trip to America to avoid the effect of Secretary of States' warrants, at a time when you expressed your sorrow, that the Law-

officers, to whom you had carefully submitted certain publications, could find nothing in them to prosecute, and when your colleague, *Liverpool*, expressed his resolution to pursue "the stern path of duty."

But, to return to the subject of France: what is to become of those who have deposited money in the *French Funds*? If a revolution take place there, not a *sous* will they get; not a single *sous*; not, for a thousand guineas, as much as will buy a grain of salt. And, what, then, will be the value of *other funds*? I would not give a dollar for a thousand dollars even of *American Stock*: for, that cannot stand if the rest fall, and fall it will, if there be another revolution in France.

The foreseeing politician, even he who sees farthest, can get but a mere glimpse at what may happen, and what will happen, in case of another revolution in France. Amongst the things, which stare us in the face, there is one, which, I think, must make our pretty gentlemen start; for, they must see, unless they be quite blind, that the French nation may demand the release of *Napoleon*! Nay; don't colour! Don't affect surprise and anger! The demand will assuredly be

made, and *war* will be the consequence of a refusal! Stamp and curse and grind teeth and clench fist as long as you please; this will take place, if the Neapolitans defeat and drive forth the deadly Austrians.

A great folly and a great sin did Napoleon commit in taking an Austrian to his embraces. The prettiest, though the poorest, girl in France should have been his choice; and he never ought to have been an *Emperor*. But, his virtues far out-weighed his faults, and the conduct of his successors, even if his once great and glorious deeds could be forgotten, have fixed him immoveably in the affections of the French people, and particularly in those of the army. That people, therefore, will demand his release, if they have the power of making the demand; and that power they will have, if the deadly Austrians be driven out of Italy.

What, then, even upon the supposition, that the present system of *Unreform* is to be persevered in here, is the course, which, with regard to Napoleon, wisdom points out to our government, in case a complete revolution take place in the North of Italy? **PIEDMONT** is situated as to France as **WALES** is as to England, and

the rest of Italy joins itself on² to Piedmont. Can the Bourbons make war upon Italy? Can they prevent the French army and people from joining, or from receiving aid from, the Italians, with whom they were lately so cordially connected and united? It is notorious, that the Italians detest the deadly Austrians, who treat them like the vilest of slaves. What the feelings of the French are towards the Bourbons we want nothing but the existence of the *Censorship* to tell us. What, then, must be the effect of a revolution in Italy, while, on the other side of France, the Spaniards, though they have completed the work of revolution, must necessarily feel some anxiety for their safety, and must, therefore, be ready to co-operate with all who shall stir in the cause of nations against depots. Thus situated, France cannot remain without another revolution, if Italy be revolutionized.

What, then, in case of this event, ought our government to do with regard to Napoleon? Release him as soon as possible. Send a squadron to take him to whatever part of the world he may choose to be taken to? This is the only wise course. It would prevent the *demand* on the part

of France, and might prevent war. It would be humiliating indeed to a man, who had the matchless audacity to say, "he shall never be set free;" but, it is better that a man, and that many men, should be humbled to the dust, than that millions should suffer.

Besides, how, with the *present system*, is war to be thought of? My opinion is, that we should not have been *quiet* in the case of Spain, of Portugal, or of Naples, if war could have been ventured on without a *certainty* of destruction to the system here. Indeed, not only have I, a hundred times over, observed that war never can be again carried on by England, under the existence of the present system, but, I aver, the man must be an idiot who supposes it possible. For, besides the *soured* state of the people's minds; besides, that arms must, and in great numbers too, be put, in case of war, into the hands of those whom the *Six Acts* prevent from *meeting* without arms; besides this, and divers other moral considerations of great weight, there is the *Paper-Money*, upon which the whole of the system hangs, and which paper-money another war would inevitably destroy.

Look at the effects of the late wars. Look at the thousand millions of debt. Look at a taxation double the amount of the rental of the land, to pay the interest of the late wars' debts. Look at the *distress* which has been produced by the late wars. Those wars were carried on by *anticipations* on our resources. Can we anticipate again? Can the paper-bubble resume its former exploits? The Bank won the battle of *Waterloo*; but, can it win another battle? Can *war* and *cash-payments* return together? Oh, no! The Paper-Money produced us a "harvest of glory" once; but, it is a plant that produces but one crop, and its fruit contains no seed. It is a monster in political economy, and can, in the vegetable world, find no similitude but in a plant that is a monster.

This minute [*Wednesday noon*] the morning papers have brought me the debate of last night on Sir ROBERT WILSON'S motion. The motion was for the production of a paper written by one of the *A'Courts*, who is our Minister at Naples, and who has two relations in the Honourable House. The paper was to say, that England would remain *strictly neutral*, and would in nowise interfere, "un-

"less the persons of the Royal Family should be in danger." This was very queer, to say the least of it. We were resolved not to interfere against the Austrian; but, our resolution on the other side, appears not to have been so very decided. The king of Naples (having got along with the Austrian, the Russian and Prussian at their Congress) has issued a proclamation, calling upon the Neapolitans to submit to the Austrian, who is his friend. Now, suppose the people were to get hold of this king, and put his person in danger, are we to interfere? Certainly A'Court's paper will bear this construction; and, how are we to interfere, except by attacking the Neapolitans? And would not that be joining the deadly Austrians?

The motion of SIR ROBERT WILSON, for which, if he had not praised Pitt, he would have deserved thanks, was, at last, withdrawn; but, it gave rise to some matter, very interesting to the public, and closely connected with the question that I was, but now, discussing.

In the course of the debate, it had been contended, that the Ministers might have prevented this atrocious attack upon Naples by protesting against it. Now,

mind, the Ministers contended, that they could not do this without being ready to go to war in case the protest had been ineffectual; and that, we could not venture to go to war! They did not say this last in so many words; but, read the following extract from CANNING's speech, and you will find him saying it in amount. I beseech the reader to pay attention to this extract; to observe the altered and humbled tone of the cock of the walk; to see how he endeavours to crow, and can only muster up a sort of cock-caw; to remark how dull, how little jocose, were his once laughing audience; and, above all things, to hear him describe our own helpless and dangerous situation!

"He conjured Gentlemen to look to the little help which they had to ride out the storm themselves before they volunteered to bring any other power into port [hear!]. But would the Honourable and Gallant General who proposed this motion, go to war in order to establish in Naples the British Constitution? Why, it was whispered at home, and pretty loudly, too, that the British Constitution was good for very little [hear! and a laugh.]

" Yet still the Gallant General
 " would say—' Come, *my merry*
 " *men all*, let us fight for the
 " ' establishment of the British
 " ' Constitution in Naples.' He
 " might be allowed to have his
 " doubts in his closet, and if
 " asked, he might perhaps be of
 " opinion, that the British Con-
 " stitution, which was of slow
 " growth in this country, could
 " not be *expected to flourish very*
 " *speedily in another*. Let the
 " Neapolitans *have their own will*,
 " and let us not be so pedantic
 " as to suppose that there was *no*
 " *salvation without the pale of our*
 " *own Constitution* [hear!]. He
 " doubted much whether we could
 " either by example, or by con-
 " troul, or remonstrance, bring
 " the Neapolitans to the standard
 " of our Constitution; let us not
 " suppose that we were to be
 " the protectors of every other
 " Government; let us not enter
 " into the romantic and foolish
 " spirit that we were to be *the*
 " *regenerators of Europe*, or
 " that it was *for us* to point out
 " the different modifications of
 " Government *which ought to*
 " *exist in every country* [hear,
 " hear.] Let it be remem-
 " bered, that our interference
 " with strangers was viewed
 " with jealousy, and before

" we did so interfere, *let the*
 " *cost attending it*, as well as the
 " *real interests of the country*, be
 " attended to. Let us act with
 " neutrality in the strictest sense
 " of the word. He, for one,
 " would watch with a jealous eye,
 " any deviation from that neu-
 " trality. *The plank upon which*
 " *we had to cross the stormy and*
 " *tempestuous wave, was short and*
 " *narrow*; attempts might be
 " made to bear us down to the
 " right and to the left, yet he
 " trusted that we should still pre-
 " serve a steady and undeviating
 " course, and perhaps the period
 " might arrive, when we might
 " be called upon, with *unwasted*
 " *strength and undiminished re-*
 " *sources*, to interfere in those
 " stormy and agitating feuds
 " which now threatened other
 " States."

This extract, short as it is, con-
 tains a wonderful quantity of
 matter. It speaks volumes to
 us Reformers; and I hope we
 may regard it as the beginning
 of that series of humiliating ac-
 knowledgements, which is to ter-
 minate in the downright begging
 of pardon. What an answer
 might have been given to this!
 How the comb of the Cock might
 have been cut! How his plumes
 might have been plucked out

one by one! How he might have been singed, spitted and roasted! But, he was followed by Sir JAMES MACINTOSH, who, in such a case, is no cutter, plucker, singer, spitter or roaster. Sir JAMES, indeed, can act ably in all these characters, when he has a poor Radical to deal with, and especially if the said Radical be absent; but, in a case like the present, the Northern suavity prevails; and though it is a something, it leaves the antagonist whole as he was previous to the commencement of the battle.

However, I have some doubt in my mind about the word "*help*," which the Reader will see in the first sentence of this at once flip-pant and dismal extract. It is, I imagine, an error of the Press, and should have been *hope*. However, it does not much signify. He *conjured*, that is to say earnestly besought, his Hon. hearers to look to the little help or little hope, they had "to *ride out the storm themselves*, before "they volunteered to bring any "other power into Port." This, as a general remark, or exhortation, was very good; for what could be more ridiculous than to hear the crew of a rotten old vessel, without skilful Captain or Pilot; with half the hands necessary to

ply the pump, gabbling about going to the assistance of a Ship in distress? But, as applicable, to the present case, does the big talking Canning describe England as being *in a Storm*? Still in a *Storm*? What, is she still in a Storm, and without help, or hope, too, at the end of a two and twenty years war, to obtain indemnity for the past and security for the future? Is she yet in this perilous storm, after having spent eight hundred millions of money to insure her safety; and after GEORGE ROSE has told us that we ought to regard that which we have given for the War as a *salvage* for that which remained? And are we to be told that we are still in a storm, and by the very man, too, who has sung, to the beastly Pitt Clubs, "*The Pilot that weathered the Storm?*" Was there nobody to tell the plaistering Poet, the doggerel plagiarist; the Grub Street idolizer of the Grand Charlton; was there nobody to remind him of his former bare-faced boastings?

A Storm still! Why, it was only at the close of the Six Acts Parliament that the Speaker told the Prince Regent, "that this "*Mighty Empire*, after having "gloriously achieved the deliverance of Europe, was *proudly*

"*reposing in the benignant
arms of permanent Peace.*"

And, in a *Storm* still! The Devil take such Storms, say I, or if not such Storms, such mightiness and such proud repose. But, we are not only in a Storm; but in it with *little hope*! The Right Hon. Gentleman implored his Hon. and Right Hon. hearers, to look to the little hope that they had to carry *themselves* through the Storm; and, upon my word and honour, whether he said *help* or *hope*, I do not believe that they have much! I agree with him here most cordially; and I agree with him also that it would have been most monstrously absurd to endeavour to persuade the Austrian, the deadly Austrian to arrest his march against Naples; for, the Austrian, who is not exceeded in cunning by Satan himself, knows very well, the utter inability of this Government, under the present system, to engage in a War.

Our hero next proceeds to disapprove of all idea of endeavouring to establish in Naples the *British Constitution*. This was raising a shadow for the purpose of fighting it; for nobody had contended that the Ministry ought to have attempted any such thing. "Come, *my merry-men all*, let us fight for the es-

tablishment of the British Constitution in Naples." Nothing was ever poorer than this attempt at ridicule; and it appears to have been wholly lost upon the audience; for it excited none of those roars of laughter which he has been accustomed to call forth, upon occasions similar to that when he jested so brilliantly upon the subject of the "*Revered and Ruptured Ogden.*" All appears to have been very dull, very grave, very solemn. The features of his hearers seem to have remained wholly unmoved by the brilliant sally of "*my merry-men all.*" One would almost think that the witty gentleman was dealing in *irony* in consequence of the long faces which he had in his eye.

This British Constitution idea seems to have stuck to him for a good while. He said that it was whispered at home, and pretty loudly, too, that the British Constitution was good for *very little*. He might have said, and very truly, that, if Rotten Boroughs and power of imprisonment Bills, and Six Acts, and Agricultural Distress, and Paper Money and Suspension of Cash Payments, and setting aside of actions brought against Parsons, and Grants to French Emigrants, and

Secret Service-money, and hiring of Spies; he might very truly have said, that, if these be necessary to the Support of the British Constitution, which also stands in need of an expense of between four or five millions a year in the collecting of taxes, and of Barracks all over the Kingdom, and of a thundering standing army in time of Peace; he might very truly have said, that, if all these be the necessary produce of the British Constitution, there may be, in the minds of some men, room to question, whether that Constitution be the best that the mind of man can possibly devise. So that, it may very well be whispered by some indiscreet persons, that this Constitution of ours is not the one which Foreign Nations ought to be expected to imitate.

In this Country, and under this Constitution, we must confine ourselves to *whisperings*.— But, in foreign countries, they speak out in an audible tone; and they speak in acts as well as in words, for, in no case, not even in France, have the people been brought to endure the idea of a British Constitution; which is wondrous strange, seeing that it is “the *Envy of surrounding Nations, and the admiration of*

“*the world.*” This assertion is echoed and re-echoed within the walls of the Parliament. It is solemnly declared by the venerable Judges from the Bench. The Parsons proclaim it from all the Pulpits. The Justices of the Peace, the Mayors, the Aldermen, the Sheriffs, the Constables and the Jailors, all declare that this Constitution is the “Envy of surrounding nations, and the admiration of the world.”—

What rascals, then, must those nations and that world be made up of! For, twenty new Constitutions have been formed in North America; five or six in South America; five or six in Europe, and the study of the makers seem to have been to avoid, as far as possible, every thing resembling this Envy-inspiring and admiration-exciting Constitution!

The Gentleman says that he does not think that this Constitution would flourish very speedily in another soil; and that, *there is salvation*, or at least, he thinks there *may be* out of the pale of our own Constitution. I think so too; and I am always happy to be able to agree with this Orator; especially as this agreement has so seldom taken place. He scouts the idea of our setting ourselves up as *regenerators* of

Europe; and so do I too; for I hold to the doctrine, or, rather to the precept of Jesus Christ, and think that we ought to take the *beam* out of our own eye, before we attempt to take the mote from the eye of our brothers. When we have no longer Rotten Boroughs and Barracks, then it may be proper for us to set ourselves up as Preachers to the Continent of Europe. But, we are full as fit for the office of *regenerators* of Europe, as we were for that of *Deliverers* of Europe. If it became us to exhaust ourselves in efforts to compel the people of Europe to submit to rulers that they hated, I do not see why it should not become us to turn *regenerators* and to assist in freeing the people from the trammels which we have helped to draw round their limbs.

"Let the Neapolitans," says he, "*have their own will.*" So say I; and so say the people of England; but so said not he and PITT in the case of the French; and BURKE, the pension-seeking BURKE, who was the trumpeter of that War, abused the French in the most blackguard language, because they had *not* copied the British Constitution. Mr. CANNING has now discovered, "that

"different modifications of government, which ought to exist in other countries." This is very true, but the discovery comes rather late, seeing that we have spent eight hundred millions of money in Wars to enable us to do that, which the gentleman now declares, we have no right to do.

He says that before we attempt to interfere, in this way, we should think of the probable *cost* of such interference! Happy thought! Wise remark! We should think, he says, of the *real interests of the country*, and how they may be affected by such Wars of interference. Just and excellent principle! But, then, how unjust, how bad, how wicked, how detestable was the conduct of those who began and carried on the Wars, which have loaded the country with ruinous Debts, and the objects of which were said to be attained when we had restored the Bourbons, the Pope and the hellish Inquisition! This discovery comes too late; and, it comes, too, under very suspicious circumstances. Comparing the *former conduct* with the *present professions*, it is impossible not to believe, that the professions arise out of a feeling hostile to the cause, which the

far greater part of us wish to succeed. However, be this as it may, there is a great difference, indeed, between interference in the internal concerns of an independent Nation; there is a great difference between this and an interference to prevent the over-running of one Nation by another. This is not only good ground of interference; but it is good ground of war; and, perhaps, there cannot be a better ground of war, excepting only that of a Nation preventing itself from being over-run. The first duty of every Nation is to provide for its own independence and security; and, as far as at present occurs to me, its next duty is to prevent other Nations from having their independence destroyed by acts of wanton aggression on the part of Nations more powerful than themselves.

All Nations have a clear right to interfere in this way; and the *reason* upon which the right is founded is this, that, if a powerful Nation be suffered to invade or to oppress a weaker Nation with impunity; if there be no check given to this bent and progress of power, it is in human nature that the weak must all, in time, be subjugated by the strong. As men in civil Society laudably

combine their efforts to seize the robber and the murderer; so must nations combine to protect each other alternately in case of need against acts of tyranny, perpetrated by a force too great for any one singly to resist.

No principle is clearer than this; and in no case, that ever occurred before in the world, was the duty of interference more manifest than is the duty of England at this moment, in the case of Naples. Austria; deadly Austria, does not march in pursuance of any object that is even pretended to be legitimate. No hostile act has been committed by Naples; no affront has been offered to deadly Austria; not the smallest slight is pretended to have been put upon her; she has no wrong of which to complain; there is no species of offence for the punishment or the resenting of which she has the smallest offence. She marches her brutal bands for the purpose of scourging a people merely because she fancies that some distant possible danger with regard to herself may be found in the manner in which that unoffending people have chosen to fix upon for the conducting of their own internal affairs.

Granted, that England is to

judge for herself ; that she is to weigh well her means of rendering assistance to Naples ; that she is not to be expected to endanger her own safety by the rendering of such assistance. But, all things considered ; the chances being that the suffering of Naples to be sacrificed will bring the Russian into the Mediterranean ; the right and the duty of England being so clear ; it being so notorious that the appearance of a British fleet in the Mediterranean, sent for the protection of Naples, would have prevented the deadly Austrian from marching. All this being considered, what deep disgrace is it that England has not moved upon this occasion ! And what is the excuse ? Why, truly, that we are in danger ourselves ! Ah ! In danger of what ? Are we in danger of the Austrian or the Russian ? Instead of stating the danger manfully and plainly, this big talking and flippant Gentleman ; this Statesman of puns, alliterations and epigrams, resorts to a metaphor, and tells us, that “ the *plank* upon which we have “ to cross the *stormy and tempestuous wave* is short and narrow, “ and that attempts may be made “ to bear us down, to the right “ and to the left.” What does all this mean ? It was only the

other night, that this gentleman wished to see *demagogues* even in the *House of Commons* ! It is only the other night, that he described the feeling of the country to be that of “ *absolute resignation* to the *wisdom of Parliament*.” And now, he has got us, or, rather, has got himself and the Honourable House, riding on a stormy and tempestuous wave and seated upon a short and narrow Plank ; a situation that I really could wish to see nobody in ; no, not even (when I recollect [what tempestuous waves are) the punning Orator himself ; though I must confess that there is one sanctified and gaping individual that I should not be sorry to see seated on such Plank, without sail or land above the horizon.

Supposing this figure of the Plank to represent the situation of England, to what a pass has England been brought ? If this be her situation, to what purpose has she fought and bled ? And what impudent men are those who pretend that she has been under the guidance of wise ministers and a wise Legislature ? If this be the situation of England, how could Jacobins or Radicals have made it worse ? How could it have been made worse by any degree of wickedness or of folly.

If the metaphor had been laid aside, as it would have been, upon such an occasion, by any but a shewy and a shallow man, the plain statement would have been this: that this nation is itself in a very ticklish state; that the people's distresses are great, and that their discontent is correspondent in magnitude; that war at this time, would shake the paper-money system to its foundation; and that the Reformers, who have been often quelled, but never subdued, might avail themselves of the difficulties in which war would plunge the Aristocracy and the Government, and compel them to yield to what they have hitherto refused; not to mention that some part of these Reformers would be likely to feel disposed to seek vengeance on those whom they regard as their cruel persecutors.

Now, would not this have been better, upon an occasion like this, than a mere trumpery metaphor about a Plank and a Storm and a Wave? Common sense will answer the question in the affirmative; and, I have no hesitation in saying that such a statement could, with truth, have been challenged by no man; for it is a fair, though a brief picture of the state of the country; and

it does offer an argument perfectly irresistible in support of the conduct of the Ministers in not attempting to interfere in behalf of Naples. But, then, is it not also an argument for an immediate attempt, at least, to change the internal situation of the country; to remove the cause of the distress; to remove the ground of the discontent; to satisfy the desires of the Reformers; or, at the least, so to act with regard to them as to convince them, that, if their prayers be rejected; it is only because the granting of them would tend to the injury of their country and of themselves?

Has any attempt of this sort been made? What measure of relief or of redress has been proposed? When has there been a step towards conciliation taken? If indeed every thing were done that could be done, there might be some reason to expect a restoration to general harmony and good will. But what do the complainants hear of that can tend to tranquillize their minds, and to inspire them with hope? When the right of Election was to be transferred from a corrupt Borough to a populous City, care was taken to tell the mass of the people that they should gain no-

thing by the transfer; and to lay down the principle, that *property* and *property only* should be considered as conferring the right, while it is *personal labour* that pays three fourths of the taxes, and while it is the *person* of the labourer himself, which is to come forth in case of need to shed blood, and to risk life in *defence of property*.

How, with this line of conduct pursued by the rulers, are they to expect to be on any but a stormy and tempestuous wave, and to have any thing better for their security than a short and narrow plank? Austria, deadly and cunning Austria, is well aware of all this; and she knows, besides, what are the crippling and benumbing effects of public debts and of paper money; paper money, which, as PAINE long ago observed, "is *strength* at the commencement, and *feebleness* at the end." France had to endure the effects of the strength of our paper money; and we have to endure the effects of its feebleness. Had it not been for the paper money, we never should have seen the Bourbons, the Pope and the Inquisition restored. Had it not been for paper money, reform at home would have taken place long ago. That

which its strength restored, its feebleness will enable truth and virtue again to overthrow; and that which its strength prevented, its feebleness will cause to take place.

I have never been in much fear for the success of the Reformers upon the Continent; because, unassisted by our paper money, their enemies can do nothing for any length of time. The strife is too unequal to be of long duration, and despotism must at last give way. My only anxiety, which is as it ought to be, very great, is, and always has been, to see the nation *united*, cordially united by measures of conciliation, that shall again make the labourer have a friendly feeling towards the nobleman. This is to be brought about, I am perfectly satisfied, by no means other than that of a radical reform of the Commons House of Parliament; and if I were a peer, possessed of that species of influence which is complained of by the Reformers, another sun should not set before I would cease to be a person to be complained of on that score.

The Lords and Gentlemen are the possessors of the Soil; the unenvied possessors, too, but in the present state of England, they

are not the unenvied possessors of all the influence which they do possess. Why they should desire to retain possession of it has always appeared to me wholly unaccountable ; or, at least, I cannot account for their setting upon it so great a value as to make them risk any thing considerable for the sake of retaining it. It is clear to me that their titles and estates are grudged them by nobody. There may be some few persons who have got crotchets in their skulls about titles being inimical to Freedom. These are very few in number ; and their talk is little better than banter ; and all the notions about Republican Government : all the ideas in favour of it, I would take upon myself to dissipate by the pages of one single Register. But, as things now stand, when I can see evidence of no disposition to conciliate the people ; to give to those who are to fight the battles of the Country, a single particle of influence in choosing the maker of it's Laws ; while this is the case, it is my duty to refrain from doing that, which, if I saw the aristocracy sincerely disposed to yield to the people what I deem their rights, I should, as a man of truth and honesty, as a good

Citizen and a good subject, think it my bounden duty to do.

The noblemen and gentlemen should consider, that, in the present state of things, they really have two bodies to contend with : the *Fundholders* and the *Reformers*. The one, by the natural progress of the system, must have their estates. The other aim only at getting from them a part of what they deem their undue influence. Vast, indeed, is the difference in the views as well as in the power of the two bodies. The Reformers want nothing that confers benefit, pleasure or honour upon the possessor ; and as to the power, what are the Fundholders compared to the whole mass of the labouring part of the community ? Having these for their friends ; having these once more cordially united with them, the noblemen and gentlemen would no longer be stuck, by any metaphor-grinding orator, upon a short and narrow plank, tossed about upon the stormy and tempestuous wave.

Of all the strange things, therefore (and I have made use of the same words fifty times over), of all the strange things that I have ever seen, the strangest to me, is, that a man, who is a nobleman, and a nobleman, too, in this coun-

try, should desire to keep possession of that which must, necessarily, expose him to a great mass of ill-will, without the possibility of its doing him any good; and moreover that he should have this desire at a time, when he sees half the civilized world in a state of commotion for the purpose of putting an end to that species of influence which he uselessly possesses. In the present state of things, the Nobility must entertain great fears of the effects of foreign revolutions. They may, perhaps, disguise their fears from others; and they may endeavour to disguise them from themselves; but have the fears they must; and I am very far from pretending to believe that, as things now stand, those fears are groundless. To use the words of the punning orator, "attempts may be made to bear down the Plank to the right and to the left." Who, then, possessed of common sense, as well as of the means of getting rid of the danger, would lose any time in getting rid of it.

One, of the *alarmist* Noblemen, at the time of his joining PITT, at the commencement of the War against the republicans of France, being asked by a friend who differed from him upon the subject, his reasons for the

step he had taken, answered in somewhat these words: "it was my lot to be born to a title and to a noble estate. I have a natural wish to preserve them both for my own sake as well as for the sake of my descendants. I love my country as much as any man that ever was born in it; and I wish as anxiously to promote it's welfare, which includes, of course, the happiness of the people in general. But my country has long been very great and very happy under it's present form of Government, and with the existence of an hereditary nobility. I am sure that it cannot be made better by a revolution like that of France; while I am of opinion that it would be made a great deal worse, with a certainty of the loss of my own title and estate. I am convinced that such revolution in England cannot be prevented, unless the present state of things in France be put down; to put that down, war is necessary, and, therefore, I am for the war."

I believe that these were nearly the words of this Nobleman, who is still alive, and who is, from every thing that I have ever heard, as just and as amiable

a man as ever lived in the world. There is no denying that the reasoning was unanswerable, if we admit the facts to be true; or, rather, if we admit to be true the one fact; that is to say, that the war was necessary to prevent the overthrow of the established order of things in England. But this is precisely what I deny; and what I think experience has now proved to be erroneous. Instead of war against France, a Reform in England, was the thing necessary, and such a reform, too, as would have left the people of England nothing to envy in the possession of any other people in the world; while, if it had taken any thing at all from this Nobleman, it would have taken that only, which did him no good in any way whatever, while it formed a blot, at least, in a character which otherwise would have been spotless.

But, now, let me appeal to the experience and sound understanding of this Nobleman, and ask him, whether he thinks that the danger which he apprehended was not imaginary rather than real; and whether, if he still thinks it real, it is not greater, at this moment, than it was at the commencement of the war against the Republicans of France. One more question I venture to ad-

dress to him; and that is, whether he thinks there be any possible escape from revolution, from one cause or another, unless it be prevented by such a Reform of Parliament as will once more make the nobility the possessors of the good will of the people, without which, even if they could be retained, title and estate can be, in the eyes of a man like him, hardly worth the possessing? With this I conclude this long string of desultory remarks, which have grown together almost unperceived by myself; but which have been suggested by the events, the intelligence of which has been received during the two days (or parts of days) that I have had the paper before me. I am aware that I have said nothing in these remarks that I have not said a hundred times before; but, some read to day that did not read five or ten years ago; and as to those on whom I particularly wish to make an impression, if they at last, ruin themselves by throwing their country into confusion, I am resolved to have to tell them that the deed has not been done without my having warned them of the consequences.

I shall now insert the Neapolitan manifesto, such as I find it in the newspapers. It is a fair and

frank statement of the case; and let it be remembered, that it comes forth under the authority of the Son of the King, who has been constituted Regent of the Kingdom.

MANIFESTO OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE TWO SICILIES.

NAPLES, Feb. 28.

The Constitutional Government of the Two Sicilies, against which the Congress at Laybach has fulminated its anathemas, while it prepares to repel the most violent aggression of which history has ever made mention, desires also to appeal to the opinion of Europe and of all civilized nations; and that every one may equally judge on which side is reason and on which side is injustice in the war which, after five years of peace, is going to break out in unhappy Italy, the Government owes it to itself to make known all the particulars which have conducted it to the political situation in which it is at this moment placed.

The wants of the people of the Two Sicilies—the degree of civilization to which it has attained, had called for many years for a change in the internal system of the State. At the beginning of July 1820, the Constitution of Spain was demanded by the unanimous voice

of the nation. The KING adhered to it, saving the modifications proposed by the Representatives of the Nation, who were convoked principally for this purpose, with the obligation to respect the basis of the new Social Compact. On the 15th of the same month, his MAJESTY SWORE to observe it, before the Provisional Junta; and, on the 19th, the KING made an official communication of it to all the Foreign Powers with whom he was on terms of friendship.

Ever since the first moment, the spirit of moderation, and a scrupulous regard to the independence, the institutions, and the rights of other nations, have formed the rule of the conduct of the Neapolitan Government. It proclaimed these maxims before the whole world, when it refused to interfere in the affairs of Benevento and Ponte Corvo, which had called for its interference. Europe cannot doubt of the sincere desire of the Government to live in peace and good understanding with all others, if it examines without partiality the conduct observed towards Austria.

Scarcely was the form of our political regime changed, when the first thought of the Court of Naples was to assure the Cabinet of Vienna that such a change could not in any manner impair the situations of friendship and

alliance existing between the two States. The first overtures having been rejected, the King, setting aside all resentment, repeated his assurances, sent Ambassadors, and, in short, attempted all means of amicable communication, but all was in vain. So much harshness on the part of Austria, was returned at Naples by the greatest respect to the Legation, the Consuls, and all the subjects of Austria.

Nevertheless, the Court of Vienna, constantly alleging that our political reform "shook the foundation of the social edifice,—that it proclaimed anarchy at law—that it menaced the safety of thrones, and that of recognized institutions, and the tranquillity of nations," urged with precipitation the most extraordinary preparations of war in the Italian States, increased the garrisons of Ferrara, Placentia, and Commacchio, and solicited all the Powers of Europe to declare against the Neapolitan Government, not to receive its Ministers, and to break off all communication with it. His Majesty then ordered the Duke de Campo Chiaro, his Secretary of State, Minister for Foreign Affairs, to demand of that Court, in his name, a categorical explanation of those extraordinary armaments, and of the attitude which it assumed towards us ;

but this Note, sent for that purpose to Prince Metternich, the very day when the King, on opening the first Session of the National Parliament, renewed in the midst of it the oath to maintain the Constitution ; this Note, in which all the accusations directed against our political reform were refuted, received no answer.

In the interval, the Sovereigns of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, met at Troppau, with their Plenipotentiaries, and those of France and England. The object of this meeting was to take into consideration the affairs of Naples, and its result to invite his Majesty the King to repair to Laybach, to co-operate with the Allied Sovereigns on "the means of conciliating the interests and the happiness of his people with the duties which they were called upon to fulfil towards their own State, and towards the world."

His Majesty accepted a mission which was proposed to him in the name of a tutelary alliance, solely destined to guarantee the political independence of all States. The Parliament consented to the departure of the Sovereign, and thus refuting the calumnies spread respecting the state of constraint in which the King was supposed to be ; it shewed the confidence which it placed in its august defender. He departed, in fact, attended by the

prayers of the nation; but scarcely has he arrived at Laybach, when he is deprived of the Minister whom he had brought with him, and threatened with a disastrous war, to oblige him to adhere to the principles and to the violent measures already resolved at Troppau. All the means he employs to avert this misfortune are fruitless.

It was then that the Allied Powers assembled at Laybach, took against the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, resolutions, which, at the utmost, would be imposed after a great number of victories upon a vanquished and humbled nation. The Envoy of Russia and Prussia, and the Charge d'Affaires of Austria, communicated them to his Royal Highness the PRINCE REGENT on the 9th of this month, and declared to him that an Austrian army would advance to occupy the Neapolitan territory, unless the order of things established since the 6th July be immediately abolished, and that even if this spontaneous submission took place, the army would still penetrate into the kingdom to maintain the new order of things which it had intended to establish there.

It was then that his ROYAL HIGHNESS gave to the Diplomatic Agents those noble answers, which, after having excited their admiration and respect produced in the Parliament an

enthusiasm which has communicated itself to the hearts of all the Neapolitans. Every body now knows that our magnanimous PRINCE would not determine on any thing till he had consulted the Deputies of the nation, to whom he communicated these proposals, that they might take such a resolution as was most suitable in the difficult situation in which the Monarchy was placed; as to himself, faithful to his oaths, he protested that he would share the fate of the nation, from which he never could have separated himself.

The extraordinary Parliament being then convoked, declared in the memorable sitting of the 15th, that it was not able to consent to any of the proposals. That it considered his Majesty as under restraint. That during such a state of things, his Royal Highness the Duke of Calabria should continue to exercise the Regency. And lastly, that all measures should be taken for the safety of the state.

Public opinion had already anticipated these determinations. The Prince Regent, bound by a sacred oath to maintain the Constitution, which is now the fundamental Law of the Monarchy, has sanctioned them. He has thought he should thus best fulfil the duties imposed upon him, as much towards the nation, whose des-

tinies are confided to him, as towards the King his august father, whose interest cannot be separated from that of his people.

Meantime, hostile to the social compact, which by the beneficence of our King, forms the palladium of the Monarchy of the Two Sicilies, the Court of Vienna pretends to abolish it. Because a nation regenerated to liberty and independence, does not yield to its will, it has employed every means to make it believed that the interest of its policy is that of Europe, and has sworn utterly to overturn all our internal organization. Already its troops are advancing for this purpose towards the national frontiers; already the sword is stained with blood, and menaces Europe with a War, which has no parallel, directed against Constitutional ideas and the independence of Nations.

It could not have been feared that those same armies which were united a short time ago in the name of social order, to deliver Europe from oppression, would march against a nation which cannot be reproached with any infraction of the Law of Nations; and which, without exciting troubles among any of its neighbours, without offending legitimacy, and even professing the most respectful veneration for its sovereign and his august dynasty, is

perseveringly engaged in the ameliorating its internal Administration. The Powers of the second rank must see, in what happens to the kingdom of Naples, the imminent danger which threatens them. On the day when our cause shall be raised, the independence, the liberty of Europe will share the same fate.

But a cause protected by justice and public opinion—a cause which interests all wise Governments, and all nations who feel their dignity—a cause which will be defended by the whole nation, whose wishes have expressed themselves on this occasion with such unanimity—such a cause must triumph. Despair will combat against force; he who defends the constitutional laws and independence of the country—he who combats the foreigner who comes to rob him of the first, and to tread the second under foot, is not always the weakest.

The Neapolitan Government, though it has provoked no one, though it has opposed the noble attitude of moderation to the multiplied outrages which have been lavished upon it by those who conspired its ruin, is now attacked by an Austrian army, which pretends to impose laws upon it. But since neither Russian nor Prussian troops are marching towards our frontiers, it is only to the Austrian Government we

are obliged to oppose the resistance which our own defence requires. However, his Royal Highness flatters himself that the august Monarchs assembled at Laybach, seeing the noble feeling which unites the inhabitants of the Two Sicilies, and their unanimous determination to defend the liberties and the honour of their nation, will renounce their prejudices, and will leave at peace a generous people, who desire only to enjoy the benefits of its new political system, under the protection of the constitutional and legitimate Throne; a people which, during a period of seven months, has shewn that noble attitude, and that respect to the King and to the Royal Family, which have made Europe judge it to be worthy of liberty; a people, in fine, which, taking no share in the affairs of other nations, have surely a right to expect that no one should interfere in its concerns.

His Royal Highness also flatters himself that all the other Powers of Europe, not concerned in the present contest, will contribute by their persuasion and good offices, to put an end to the disasters in which the scourge of war, ready to fall upon our country, threatens to involve humanity. If the fire is kindled in the south of the Italian Peninsula, who is there that must not fear the consequences? and who

can say where its dreadful ravages will stop? If, unhappily, a war of extermination cannot be avoided, the Prince Regent and his august brother will place themselves at the head of the Neapolitan Army, and will combat with it to the last extremity against the foreign invasion, invoking the aid of the Supreme Arbiter of Empires, who protects innocence and right, and punishes abuses of force, injustice and oppression?

ROMAN CATHOLICS.

I feel great reluctance to say any thing upon this subject, which has been a sort of stalking-horse for so many years. It is just twenty years since it was made the pretended cause of PITT quitting his Office; and since that time of how much shameful humbug it has been made to serve the purpose! The Bill before Parliament, if carried into effect, will enable Roman Catholics to sit in the two Houses; and for my part (things being as they are) I think it is not of the smallest importance whether they sit there or not. To call the thing Catholic *emancipation*, is the grossest piece of cheaterly that ever was played off upon the world. It emancipates no man; it frees no man; it does nothing worthy of

the name of emancipation. It allows Catholics to sit in Parliament, as were allowed Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, Quakers, Unitarians, Muggletonians and all manner of Sects to sit before. There are a hundred Members that come from Ireland; and I cannot bring myself to believe, that, if this Bill should happen to change some of the persons, it will produce the smallest change in the quality of their characters or their conduct. The House of Commons will still be just what it is; and *what it is* is too well known to stand in need of any description!

The division upon this Bill was pretty nearly equal in the Commons; and I do not believe that it will pass the Lords. But, if it should, I see in it that which *may* lead to curious effects, though those effects appear not to be perceived by its advocates. I can never believe that the Roman Catholics of Ireland, when they have members of their own creed in Parliament, will be *content to pay tythes to the Protestant Clergy*. I was always for giving the Catholics what they asked; but I was and am for giving them a great deal more than their advocates venture to ask for. I am for giving them the tythes of Ireland; and this is

what I always said. I would put an end to their claims at once by leaving them nothing to ask for; and I am very sure that they never will cease to ask as long as there is any thing to be got, besides which I am sure that they are great fools if they do.

Mr. BANKES, who made the only speech, upon this subject, in which my limited penetration could enable me to discover any thing like sense, observed, and in a very forcible manner, upon, the danger that would arise from the Bill to the Protestant Church; that is to say the Tythes and Glebes and Parsonage Houses and Church lands of Ireland. It is not at all wonderful that I should like the Bill for precisely the reasons that made it objectionable with Mr. BANKES. He observed further, that the Catholics might be disposed to cast an eye back to those *estates*, which, by thousands of acres together, had been taken from the Catholics and given to the Protestants. I cannot say that I feel any *alarm* on this account neither. Mr. BANKES received *no answer* from any body; and the attempt at an answer by Sir JAMES MACINTOSH was a great many degrees worse than no attempt at all would have been. In order to show

that Mr. Bankes's apprehensions were groundless, he cited the experience of France before the revolution, where the Protestants were not excluded from any offices whatever. A Lawyer, when he uses an argument of experience, should endeavour to find out a case coming up to the point in some one feature at least. Here there was not a single feature. In France the Protestants did not form *four fifths of the population*. In France the Protestant Church was not the *original Church*. In France the Church property, the tythes, the glebes, the parsonage houses had not been *taken from the Protestants and given to the Catholics*. In France a great part of the lands of the Country had not been taken from the Protestants by forfeitures and otherwise and given to the Catholics. France had never been conquered and over-run by Catholics, who had been made, in consequence of that, the *superiors of a Protestant population four times surpassing them in number*. A lawyer should, I say, find some one feature of similarity in the things compared when he ventures upon an argument of experience, which, when good is very good, but which when not very good, is beyond all measure worse than nothing.

No answer, therefore, did Mr. BANKES receive from Sir JAMES MACINTOSH; and as to his Right Hon. friend Mr. CANNING, he dealt in unmeaning generalities, or only put forth eulogies on the Catholics, tending to lessen them in the esteem of good men rather than otherwise. He praised the dear creatures for their *loyalty*; and he cited, in particular, their conduct in the case of Charles the First. It was not Catholics, he said, that imbrued their hands in the blood of that martyred King. He might have been told of a couple of very zealous Catholics who stabbed a couple of the Bourbon Kings; and he might have been reminded that the sinister compliment that he was paying to the Catholics has been rendered very much misplaced by their gallant resistance of oppression in South America, in Spain, in Portugal, and in the Kingdom of Naples. The plains of Waterloo, he said, had been "*fertilized by Catholic blood*." Much better than this bombast would have been the observation, that our own ancestors were all Catholics; that to them we owe all our laws that are worth a farthing; and then he might have added their recent glorious exploits in the South of the two Continents of

Europe and America; to which he might have subjoined (facts not less to their honour) that in civilizing the savage they have far exceeded the Protestants; and that, as to the Irish people, they have distinguished themselves by their industry and disposition to labour in every country where they have been found; it being a well known fact that with all the boasted economy and morality of the other Sister Kingdom, SAWNEY, with his strait back, is every where found driving on others to labour, while Paddy takes to the tool himself and tames the wilderness or carries the vessel through the deep.

These were the sort of praises (if praises there must be) to bestow upon the Catholics; and not a parcel of high-flown sentimental nonsense about their affectionate attachment to Kings and the Devil knows what. Mr. CANNING seemed to think that this boon, as it was called, was to *endear* what he calls the Constitution, to the Catholics. The Catholics, like other men, will, to be sure, like any thing that betters their lot; but how is their lot to be bettered except by some acts of Parliament which will give them a better chance of enjoying the fruit of their labour? If the Catholics,

whom they put into Parliament, will get laws passed, as Mr. BANKES anticipated, to prevent them from giving tythes to a Protestant Church, there would be some sense in the word *emancipation*; but if not, what good is the Bill to do the Catholics?

It is proposed, I see, to give *stipends* to the Roman Catholic Clergy! So that we shall have two Churches to maintain, at one and the same time for one and the same people! This, I suppose, is in pursuance of that grand scheme of "*Economical Reform and Retrenchment*," which has so long occupied the profound and capacious minds of our most distinguished politicians. Perhaps a million of money may, at first, suffice for the Romish Hierarchy. But is any one fool enough to imagine, that this will satisfy the Catholics? Can any one believe that they will contentedly give tythes to support a Protestant Priest, and pay taxes to support their own Priest? And I want to know upon what ground, and with what shew of justice, what remnant of common sense, the Catholic Priest is to be supported out of the taxes, while the Methodist and every other dissenting Priest is to receive from the taxes no support at all? If

the Protestant dissenters put up with this in silence: I shall begin to think that they are indeed ready, when smitten upon one cheek to invite a slap upon the other. We church people shall have reason enough to complain; for here comes a burden for the support of a religion different from that by law established; but the Protestant dissenters will be a great deal worse off than the ass of Issacher, which was only loaded with two burdens: they will have three, the lawful Clergy, the Catholic Clergy and their own Reverend Gentlemen. If this will not be to be *Priest-ridden*, it is hard to say what *Priest-ridden* must mean.

However, the main thing is the *tythes in Ireland*. If the Bill produce an appropriation of them to the use of the Irish Catholic Priests, it will do good in a great

many ways. At any rate, in our present situation, our standing comfort is that neither this Bill nor any other is likely to do us any harm.

As I said before, I do not believe that the Bill will pass. With what view it was brought forward I do not know; but, if for any of its former purposes, it will certainly fail of its object. The state of the country now is such, that men are not to be amused. The system is operating directly upon the pocket and the belly, and neither are to be tranquillized by any thing purely sentimental. Mr. GOOCH and his committee have in their hands a concern not to be put to rights by "Grand Constitutional Debates." And, therefore, all attempts to quiet the people by such means must be wholly unavailing.

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